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WORK GROUP STRUCTURE SERIES

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION IN AN URBAN FACTORY IN COLOMBIA

by

Alfonso Rojas and Charles H. Savage, Jr.

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This series of studies was sponsored by the Inter-American Program in Civil Engineering, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, and supported by the Agency for International Development, U.S. Department of State (DSR 9865), the Carnegie Corporation (DSR 9597) and the Dow Chemical Company (DSR 9651). Dr. Rojas is a member of the Economic Research Center, University of Antioquia. Dr. Savage is professor of management at Boston College and visiting professor at the Sloan School of Management, M.I.T.

Note: The names of individuals and organizations have been disguised.

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A field study of a work group in an urban setting was undertaken during a three month period in 1964 by Professor Alfonso Rojas of the University of Antioquia and myself. After inspecting four plants, we selected a men's clothing factory on the edge of the downtown area of one of the larger cities in Colombia. This company, which we shall call Vestidos Colombianos, S.A., is the result of a merger of two manufacturing operations each employing about one thousand workers. One manufactures woolen cloth; the other men's and boys' suits. Our study focused on one of the five manufacturing areas in the men's suit operation.

The Urban Workplace

The company was founded twenty years ago with local money. A U.S. style specialist was hired in the early years and is still employed by the company. The company pioneered the shift in style from a traditional to a more universal style of man's suit. Eight years ago it moved from an old down-town building to a plant so modern, spacious and well-landscaped that it is referred to in the company literature as the "Installations and Gardens of Vestidos Colombianos." The General Manager, pointing out the flower beds and fountains on our first tour through the interior walks of the plant, said: "When the workers arrive here from their different and sometimes shoddy neighborhoods, I want them to feel a sense of uplift!" The sales of the company currently account for fifty per cent of the production of men's suits in the country. There are nine other suit manufacturing companies in Colombia.

The General Manager and principal operating head of the two affiliated companies is Dr. Flavio Garcia who started with the firm in his present position when he was a relatively young man. Although he was related to one of the owners, he considers himself a professional manager rather than an entrepreneur. One external sign of the identification is he is universally referred to as "Doctor Garcia" not "Don Flavio." He has served as president of the National Association of Manufacturers and received from the government the national "Medal of Merit" for his contribution to Colombian industry. The General Manager is a graduate civil engineer, a daily communicant, and active in the International Association of Catholic Employers. Once a year he leads the workers in a religious retreat ceremony held on company time at the plant. He also conducts a weekly session in the factory classroom at which he discusses such economic and political issues as the employees raise. In labor relations he permits union unrest to be focused upon him personally, choosing not to work through intermediate parties.

Serving under Dr. Garcia as the superintendents of the two plants are two slightly younger men also graduates of local engineering schools. Both are referred to as Doctores. The Manager of the woolen plant is jovial and spoken of as being muy simpático. The Manager of the garment plant, Doctor Gonzalez, is more serious and spoken of as being muy formal. Both men share a common staff in the field of accounting, standards, engineering and so forth. All of these staff departments are headed ^{by} Doctores except for the Personnel Department which is headed by Don Ramiro Sanchez and the Style Department which is headed by the American, Mr. Petrucci. Doctor Gonzalez is assisted by a "plant administrator," Don Carlos Restrepo, who in turn has an assistant, Don Juan Rojas, with the title of "production manager." A student on a cooperative program with the local business school is with them for a six month assignment. In his report to the Faculty, this student states:

(The worker and his manner of thinking) A leader can easily misguide them, since they are people who by themselves can do nothing lacking as they do "get up and go." At the bottom most are good enough folk, but they are incapable of putting their thoughts into words, hence their tendency to seek advice from others. The Company provides a good salary and shows great respect for the human person, making important contributions to the well-being of the worker - as for example the cooperative store. To all this the worker seems blind and permits himself to be pushed around with a disorganized mentality that tries in every way to avoid cordial worker-management relations.

The woolens factory workers are represented by the more moderate "Catholic" union. The garment workers are represented by a federation that was recently expelled by a second and more liberal national labor organization on the grounds that it was communist dominated. The president of the "garment" factory local is Jose Juarez who also serves the federation as its "chairman of propaganda and agitation." This third federation claims that it is the only national labor body which is neither subservient to the Church or the Government. A little over half of the garment factory workers were union members and he had obtained a bare majority in taking over leadership of the local from a more moderate faction several years earlier. His work was that of a cloth cutter in the area of the plant which was the subject of our study. Since he was frequently absent on union business he never earned more than base pay. His family includes ten children, some with Russian given names. His friends see him as a valiant if at times contentious defender of the underprivileged. His

enemies see him as a powerful man who uses the union bulletin and the nightly meetings at the local tavern as platforms from which to blacken the reputations of those who disagree with him.

When we first talked with Juarez he arranged that the other members of the board sit in on the meeting which was held in the union headquarters at the back of the plant. During this meeting, he talked as he wrote about the exploiters and the exploited and of the time when the oppressed working class would come into its own as the proprietor of the means of production which it had created by its sweat and toil. He spoke of the privileged members of the oligarchy, who controlled industry and the national government, who were subservient to foreign imperialists, and who - in the Vestidos Colombianos case - had their lackeys in the persons of certain workers who were traitors to the working class. (The Two union members were appointed to the Standards Department. When they sided with management on an issue, they were condemned and expelled from the union.) He spoke of the need for a continuing struggle if the misery, hunger and poverty of the workers was ever to be solved. He spoke of the need for unity among members of the working class and the difficulties which he had in achieving it.

Since Juarez' election, there had been a continuing struggle between him and the General Manager. Every move which management made was decried in the union bulletin as being insincere and exploitative. Frequently, short lessons in Marxist doctrine were introduced. The company responded by publishing its own newspaper the case for representative government and the free enterprise system. Reference was often made to the papal encyclicals. Finally the struggle came to a head around an issue having to do with the size of reserves for depreciation in the accounts of the company store which was administered by a union-management board. Since the issue could not be resolved, the annual dividend to which the workers looked forward could not be paid. A long struggle ensued at the height of which Juarez said to the General Manager: "Look, you pose as a philanthropist. You have plenty of money. Why don't you advance the workers their dividends out of your personal funds?" Dr. Garcia ordered Juarez out of his office and stated that he would not meet with the union committee until more compatible members could be substituted.

As we came to know Juarez, he dropped his Marxist line of reasoning in his conversations with us. He stated that he had once been offered a trip to the United States to study labor relations. He had secured a passport but had had to cancel the trip because of the disapproval of the general secretary of the federation. He stated that he secretly admired Dr. Garcia and realized that an impasse had developed between the two of them that could be settled only by the withdrawal of one party. He also stated that, although he was not a practicing Catholic, the Communist party's attitude toward the Church kept him from making a full commitment to its program.

Towards the end of our stay, Juarez announced at a meeting at the plant gate that he was withdrawing from the Company and the Union. He stated that he could no longer penalize his family to continue union work. He asked the workers to keep unfurled the banner that he had raised. The General Manager praised him in the company newspaper and offered to help find him another position. Juarez accepted this offer under the condition that his union activities at Vestidos be made known to his future employer. Clemente, who worked at the station next to Juarez, became union president. Clemente was a middle-aged worker who had been expelled from his village at the age of twenty by the priest and the mayor because he was living with a woman without the benefit of marriage. His father was an alcoholic. He stated: "I know that the quality gets me into trouble, but I cannot remain quiet when I see a fellow worker mistreated!"

The Work Group in Factory Number 1

The garment plant manufactures the following items: a moderately-priced men's suit appropriate for tropical and semi-tropical wear, a heavier suit for the more temperate climate of the interior cities, boys' suits, and drill trousers. Until six months before the study, all of these items had been produced along lines that ran from one end of the plant to the other. Thus the first work stations at one end of the plant attended to cutting material for all of the four items produced. The cut cloth then went to the next work station where it was prepared for assembly, and so forth. Technologically, this has seemed to be the most efficient use of machinery and the special abilities of the skilled workers. Actually, it resulted in delays. When there was a problem at one work station, the subsequent work on all four items might be held up.

The management therefore developed a plan for organizing the work into four departments, each of which would take care of all operations required in the production of a single item. Thus the first "factory" would produce heavy suits, the second lightweight suits, and so forth. There were no departmental supervisors appointed. Don Carlos and Don Juan continued to manage the entire works. In each of the four small "factories" would be located two or three supervisors. The changeover was announced when the plant closed for two weeks of plant-wide vacation at Christmas. When the workers returned each found at his new work station a card with his name written on it. This change meant that additional investment had to be made in certain machines. It also meant that groups of skilled specialists who had previously worked together were now split into four smaller teams. There was some request for transfer, but no important modification of the management redeployment of personnel took place. In the weeks immediately following the change, production sagged. By the time that we arrived in June, however, normal output had been achieved, and management believed that it had acquired more flexibility in meeting production schedules with a lower level of finished goods on hand.

The focus of our attention was Factory No. 1. This department was selected because the plant managers told us that it occupied more of their attention than the others. Moreover, the fact that the significant union leadership worked in this department intrigued us. The size of the area proved to present a research problem. There were over one hundred and fifty workers in the room, a number that could not be adequately attended to in the time we had at our disposal. The skilled workers were men and these were grouped according to operation. We therefore settled on a study of only the male personnel, picking up sentiments and social involvement of the female workers second-hand by means of the interactions which they had with the men. It is interesting to note that, except in the case of the heavy pressing machines, the men were engaged exclusively in hand tailoring and cutting. A sewing machine was a mark of a female task which none of the men would undertake.

Flow of Work through the Department

Figure 1 provides a map of the work area in Factory No. 1. The male operations which were studied are numbered. The work process started at the upper left of the diagram where certain preparatory operations were undertaken by girls. Next the cloth was cut by a bank of men. Jose Juarez, the union president, had

FIGURE 1

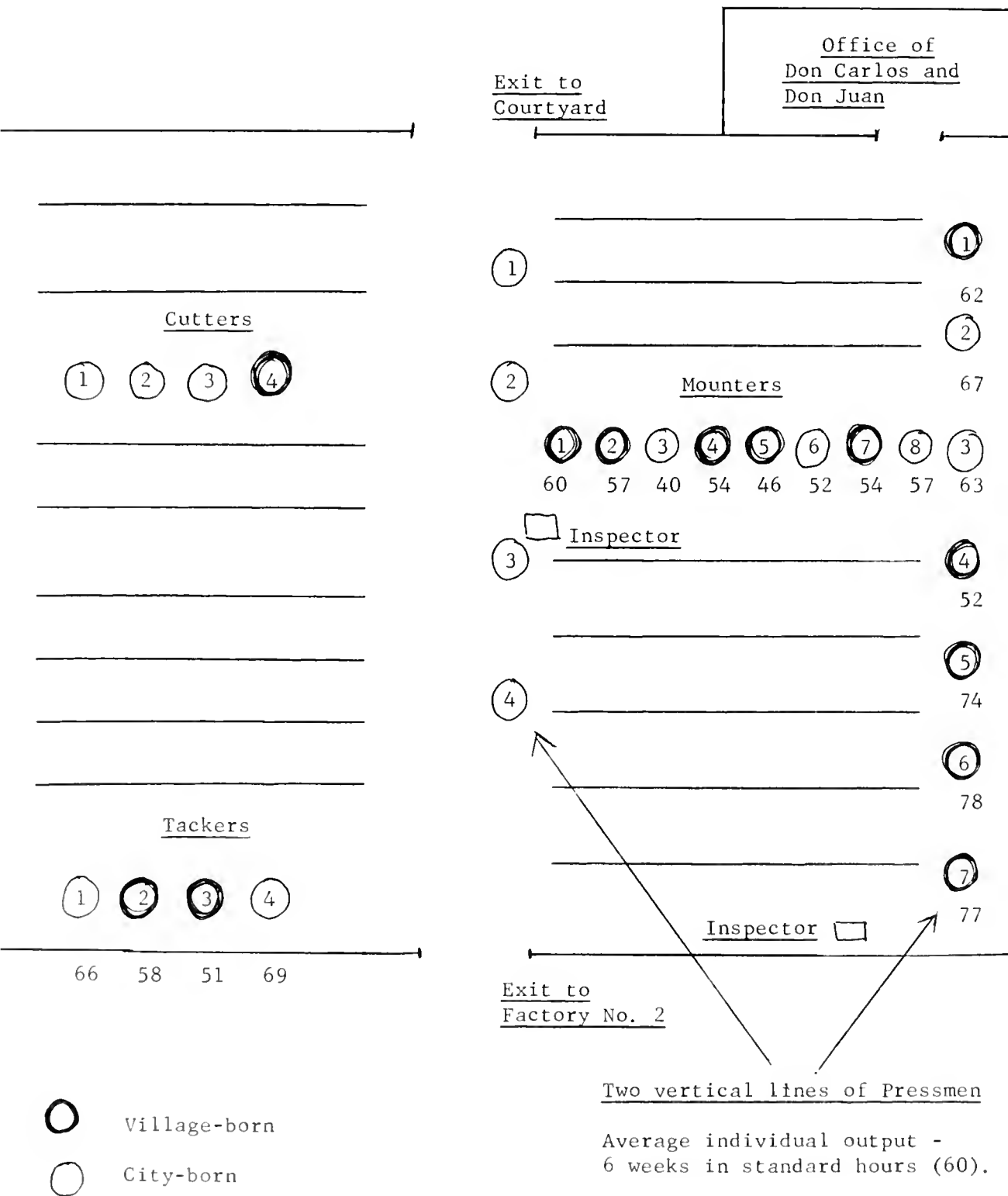
Layout of Factory No. 1

FIGURE 2

Status Factors and Average Output
in Standard Hours of Workers Studied

	Origin	Age	Home Owner	Child- dren	Tenure	Stan. Hr. Output
<u>Pressmen</u>						
1. Gonzalo	Anori	42	X	6	17	62
2. Guillermo	City	37	Co.	5	4	67
3. Carlos	City	45	Co.	6	7	63
4. Fabio	Marmato	20		1	4	52
5. Gabriel	Sopetán	31	X	7	7	74
6. Aicardo	Támesis	22		5	3	78
7. Luis	Envigado	42	X	5	9	77
<u>Mounters</u>						
1. Felix	Botania	31		6	3	60
2. Jorge	Tititribi	47		6	17	57
3. Raul	City	46	X	4	9	40
4. Rafael	Montebello	44		9	1	54
5. Juan	Venecia	37	Co.	5	7	46
6. Jairo	City	34	X	9	15	52
7. Luis E.	Dn Matias	30		5	2	54
8. Sergio	City	26		2	5	57
<u>Tackers</u>						
1. Guillermo V.	City	31	Co.	4	10	66
2. Jesus	Copacabana	47	Co.	8	11	58
3. Arturo	City	42		2	2	51
4. Alberto	City	37	X	5	15	69

Station No. 2. His successor, Clemente, worked at Station No. 3. At Station 4 worked a man who had previously held office in the union and who had also achieved some current fame as chess champion of the municipality.

The work proceeded through the subsequent banks of female workers until it arrived at a bank of sleeve tackers whose task it was to baste the sleeve to the body of the jacket. The sleeve tackers were skilled tailors. All four of them carried out the same operation, as did all four of the cutters. In the flow of the work through the left half of the area, several side trips were made to the row of pressing machines at the middle of the floor for ironing work.

From bottom left, the work now proceeded to top right where girls undertook certain less-skilled intermediate tasks, eventually arriving at a bank of "sleeve-mounters" who hand-sewed the sleeve to the body of the jacket. This was a second highly-skilled operation requiring tailoring expertise. The general observation was that the two operations were of comparable skill requiring workers who were sastre completo or "professional tailors." The major difference was that the standards required a mounter to produce one garment each fifteen minutes while a tacker could do two in the same period of time. All eight mounters did similar work, receiving a bundle of garments from the preceding station. Both tackers and mounters worked at a low table seated on a low tailor's chair and working with needle and thread.

From the mounters, the work proceeded to the bank of pressing machines which flanked the right external wall. The press operators worked in a chain, one man doing the jacket fronts, another the collar and so forth. When the jacket arrived from the last pressman, it was ready for final inspection. The last few banks at bottom right were devoted to the manufacture of trousers, a less-skilled operation with its own supervisor. We did not concern ourselves with this group.

Benito was the supervisor of the tackers, the mounters, the pressmen to the right of the room and the adjacent female workers. He was a tall, soft spoken, middle aged individual with a tan complexion. He had been a tailor all of his life. He spoke to us of the individual traits of the workers and how he had to adapt his style to meet their special requirements. While in the shop, he was unusually to be found bending over a work station, checking the work in process. Although some of the workers spoke disdainfully of the supervisors as a group, no

one made a specific negative reference to Benito. The pressmen in the center aisle and the workers in the left hand section of the room, except for the tackers, had another supervisor.

The workers reported at 7 a.m. checking in at a time clock. The mornings were cool and pleasant and several reported that they tried to get ahead of their daily production before leaving for lunch at 10:45. There was also a coffer break of ten minutes at nine o'clock. Returning from lunch, the workers continued at their tasks until five. Many stayed until 5:30 or even 6:00 before checking out. They said that they had to do this to achieve the daily standard of production. There was no ill feeling reported by those who left early in discussing the practice of staying late. "Some are more agile than others, and the less agile have to earn their bread as well," they reported. Some also worked during the coffee breaks.

Sentiments Towards Standards and Individual Productivity

To gain the standard wage of about \$2.50 per day, it was necessary for a mounter to process forty jackets each day. The output in Factory No. 1 ranged from 35-55. It was reported that two individuals in another factory produced up to 80. One of these individuals was a quiet type, who sometimes got into trouble with his neighbors. The other was jovial, helpful and admired. The tailors reported no negative sentiments towards high producers on this basis alone. Some said that they would like to work next to them for the effect that propinquity would have on the pacing of their own work. Jose Juarez stated that he would like to see more attention to level of production, but that it was impossible granted the current attitudes of even the union members. He dismissed the matter as being of minor importance.

My associate, Alfonso Rojas, became convinced that there existed no norm about output restriction. We did encounter one case which shows a latent tendency in this direction. Alberto, the highest producer among the tackers (Station No. 3), reported some sensitivity on this issue. He said that he offset this by always reporting back from lunch late. "I take a long walk by myself through the garden paths. Also I do a garment for my neighbors once in awhile to offset any hard feeling." The mounters have knowledge about who are the low and high producers among their number. "Sergio (a young fútbol player at Station 8) is the most agile, but he likes to goof off. He's always talking

with his neighbors or leaving his station to joke with another worker." Stations No. 1 and 2 are manned by campesinos who concentrate on their work. Jorge (Station 2) told me: "My left-hand neighbor, Raul, is always turning to talk with the girls who bring their problems to him; he hardly ever meets the standard. My right-hand neighbor, Felix, was very slow when he first arrived. I started to exhort him 'Animo, Felix! Let's see what we can do!' Now he out-produces me."

The bank of pressmen at the right of the room have misconceptions about the level of production among their number. Stations 1, 2, and 3 are manned by gregarious types who are central to the social life of the department. Stations 6 and 7 are country types who avoid involvement. They are very close themselves and help one another with their work. All pressmen believe that the gregarious types produce higher. Actual records, however, show that it is the campesinos who are the high producers.

The workers universally had negative sentiments towards the standards program. The tackers and mounters, who are the skilled tailors, claimed that it forced them to choose between the quality standards of their profession and the need to secure money for their families. The pressmen stated that it was more difficult to press certain shades and textures of materials, a fact that the established standards did not take into account. The union bulletin constantly attacked the standards program. "Standards run counter to the Colombian mentality," states Jose Juarez. "It's not our way of doing things. I wanted to study standards if I had gone to the United States. Here they are not applied with the finesse that is possible, for example, in your country."

The Tailors as Artisans

The tailors (tackers and mounters) were the high status workers of the department. If you asked either a tailor or pressman if the latter might aspire to join the tailoring ranks, you would be told that this was impossible. A man started his training for the trade when he was fourteen. It was held that it was impossible to learn tailoring in the factory. Many of the tailors are sons of tailors or sons of men who knew a tailor who agreed to take them on as apprentices. At first they ran errands and carried lunch pails in the small tailoring establishments in the streets. Eventually they learned to cut cloth for garments, later to make trousers, and finally jackets. With his training completed a man became a member of the fraternity, a sastre completo.

Even after securing employment at the factory, a tailor retained fond memories of the street tailor who had schooled him. I remember one introducing me with great tenderness to the man who had given him his first lessons. The Vestidos tailors trained in shops in the city visit their maestros frequently and, at times, do fill-in work either on week-ends at the shop or evenings at home when the street tailor is under time pressure from a client. The tailors in the street shops consider the pay and benefits better in factory employment, but like the easy atmosphere of the small shop and the opportunity to work with a garment through to completion. "I like to smoke and they wouldn't let me smoke there," one of them said. Also, the owner of the small shop takes an interest in the personal and family problems of his assistants and helps them out as much as he is able in times of financial distress.

Many of the tailors work at home on nights and weekends. They make a pair of trousers for a neighbor or a first communion suit for the young son of a relative or help their maestro by doing a jacket to meet a client's deadline. The men find this tiring and say that the time so spent makes them less productive in achieving high pay in the factory. It appears that it may be the social pressure imposed upon them by family and their professional associates in the city that keep them at work which may not be on balance remunerative. If this is the case, the men who moved to factory work from small villages are in a better position to avoid this external social pressure and devote all of their energies to factory work.

The Rural-Urban Dimension of Group Structure

About one-half of the men studied grew up in small country villages. Either through their father or on their own they located work as apprentices in the village tailor shop. After learning the trade, they took off to other villages in search of a more lucrative opportunity. Frequently this departure took place after an intense episode between father and son. Father-son conflicts appear to be an important consequence of the rapid economic development and social change that the area is experiencing. "My father tried to prepare me for a life with the soil and in the fields, the life which he knew!" one of them told us. "He wouldn't let me learn anything better. He took me out of school to work the land with him. One day he struck me during an argument. I left the house and lived as a street boy for awhile. I started carrying lunch pails for the tailors in a shop. Later they taught me to tailor." Frequently this departure takes

place when the son is only 12 or 13 years of age. Such workers are especially sensitive to abrupt treatment by a factory supervisor. Through their professional associates, the village tailors secure employment at Vestidos. They can always identify the fellow villager who first introduced them to the factory. Basically, they feel that they have bettered their lot, although life remains hard and insecure. They say of the change: "Food was plentiful in the villages and, in many ways, life was better. But employment is easier to obtain here and I will never go back."

There is less Father-son conflict among the workers who grew up in the city. One group of workers found their way into the factory by means of associations developed through a neighborhood fútbol team they organized as a group of boys. Some of these men are still connected with the factory fútbol team. Fútbol is a risky business. If a player injures himself, he must depend on his own resources or the good will of his fellow players to solve his financial problem. Moreover, the time devoted to practice or trips for games cannot be used for remunerative activities outside of the factory. He is under intense pressure to continue with the team, however, and there are certain social advantages to being a futbolista which we shall discuss later.

Most of the workers who are active in union affairs are city bred. One of the workers told me: "We have two kinds of people here: los inquietos (the restless ones) and los callados (the quiet ones)." Los inquietos find their way into one of three activities: active union work, football, or one of several other activities which include a chess group, music, and an international affairs discussion group. This last group discusses both national and international politics. They resist the effort to involve them in union activities. The union men are disdainful of them. "They are interested in conflict, but only at a distance," the union people report. Los callados are the people from the country. They rarely engage in more than two-person inter-actions. Nights and week-ends they spend with their families which are typically large. They make clothing for their children. They build additions to their small houses. On Sundays, they take their families up into the fields behind the city for a picnic. Some of them have small stalls at the Sunday public market where they sell trinkets of one kind or another.

Some Leadership Roles that Were Observed

(a) Guillermo - The most visible leadership role in the department was played by Guillermo, a press operator at Station No. 2. Guillermo is captain of the fútbol team from the time that he was twelve. He is vocal and has a candid relationship with Don Carlos, the plant administrator. Don Carlos is a bachelor who takes an active interest in sports. He is a hunter. He is also manager of the plant fútbol team. The general worker sentiment throughout the department is that low visibility is the best condition of survival in an uncertain circumstance. It may be that Guillermo's special condition of involvement makes him a serviceable channel by which communication with the formal leadership may be achieved. He can play this role without posing a threat to the status order among the other workers because of the special eminence which the society accords to the futbolista. Moreover, he is a member of the lower-status pressman group. He has been invited to serve on the union board but declines because of the time he has to invest in the activities of the team. His role provides him with a certain maneuverability vis-a-vis the plant management which other workers do not enjoy. Moreover, since he exposes himself to the risk and reduced earning power that participation in fútbol entails, he establishes a right to certain eminence among the other workers.

Nobody in the department ever attends a fútbol match excepting the players themselves, but the activity makes a social contribution. Through fútbol, Guillermo has connections among all of the male banks of workers throughout the room. His most active associates are Carlos, the pressman at Station No. 3, and Sergio, the young mounter at Station No. 8. This threesome keeps up a constant line of chatter during the day and provides a significant bridge to two important union leaders further along in the bank of mounters. Carlos is a retired futbolista who currently serves as the team's trainer and first aid man. Sergio is a young bachelor who is extremely mobile for one holding the sedentary tailoring occupation. Because he is an agile, easy producer, he can use his excess time to visit and to chatter without incurring managerial wrath on the production score. Some of the older callados resent his flip manner which they consider rude. The pressman at Station No. 4 in the center aisle is also a futbolista. Collections among the employees are forbidden by company directive, but some clandestine collections take place. It is this man who picks up the donations. Guillermo also had contacts with former futbolistas among the tackers and cutters. Los callados express no interest of any sort in fútbol.

In fact, some express an aversion to it. One of them responded to our question with this comment: "I can't stand physical contact of any sort. I would like to take my family on a Sunday trip down the valley, but the thought of being jostled by the crowd on the railroad train sickens me. It makes me furious to get pushed!"

(b) Raul is the mounter who works at Station No. 3. He is by reputation the most simpatico of all of the workers in the department. Girls are frequently coming to him with minor grievances which do not require the attention of top union leadership. He is also central in collection efforts and the decision as to whether or not they should be undertaken. His daily production is the lowest in the room. The bustle around his station unsettles his two campesino neighbors but they respect him: "Raul is very servible. He lends money, listens to problems, and is always the one who goes here and there taking up collections when someone is sick." Raul is the lowest producer on the line and seldom makes the standard established for a day's work. He is a city boy with many family and professional connections in the center. He is also a member of the union board. Benito, the supervisor, mentioned Raul when he was discussing his efforts to know and respond to individual traits that he encountered in different workers.

(c) Jairo, a mounter working at Station No. 6, appears to be the most influential man among the workers. Although he served on the union board with Jose Juarez, it was his opinion that a less visible role was the more effective course to follow. He has the reputation of being a high quality worker, but he usually must work overtime to achieve the daily quota. It is said of him that he rarely speaks in union-management meetings, but that when he does everyone listens. He undertakes some outside tailoring, but always at home. He avoids tavern meetings and is a devoted family man. The others say of him that it is Jairo who coaches the younger men in how to negotiate with management. The others check with him before undertaking any activity or pursuing a grievance with management, but he takes no part in the doctrinal arguments which had been raging in the plant during the regime of Jose Juarez. He enters into the banter that spreads down the line from Sergio to Carlos to Guillermo, across the bridge between the mounters and the pressmen, but he becomes annoyed when the girls or the younger men become too familiar with him. Almost all of the workers, whether their origins are urban or rural, refer to him with respect. He is a city boy who was trained in a center for tailoring work.

(d) Guillermo Villa, a tacker working at Station No. 1 of that bank of workers, may be a potential future leader waiting in the wings. He was a futbolista until he injured his knee. He is somewhat younger than the other group leaders who are all in their late thirties or early forties. He has resisted efforts to get him involved as a member of the union board, but he is articulate and generally popular. He was one of the first that Benito, the supervisor, suggested that we meet. He is the illegitimate son of a well-known teacher of music who, himself, plays at fiestas with a commercial group. He believes that Don Carlos, the plant administrator, should put less emphasis on fútbol and more on musical activities among the workers. As a musician, he has connections with other banks of workers around the department. As a former futbolista he is in contact with Guillermo and his group. Being a tacker, he is released from the more precise norms of the mounter bank and enjoys more mobility around the department.

Some Evidences of Social Structure Encountered

(1) Urban-rural differences and methods of continuing them.

Of apparent importance are the contrasting values and commitments of the city and country workers, los inquietos and los callados. The city-bred worker is exposed to pressures towards more active social involvement both in the plant and in his outside activities. One form that this pressure takes is towards active involvement in union activities. The only legitimate way to avoid such pressure is to be an active futbolista. Other activities of the articulate, such as that of the international affairs group, are suspect. The campesinos seem to be able to avoid active social involvement for this generation at least. The futbolistas gain exemption by performing the visible leadership roles that permit the other workers to achieve the benefits of low visibility and thus to avoid the fate which befell Jose Juarez.

(2) The artisan-unskilled worker division.

This dimension requires more detailed analysis of other data at hand such as individual output and early checkout. It is apparent that the artisans, the mounsters and tackers, are under greater pressure to watch their output because they do the same work as their neighbors. Their individual performance is, for this reason, subject to comparison. The resort to the claim of quality work by the sastres completos may be functional as a means of avoiding invidious comparisons. Moreover, the higher producers, the country people, accord respect and

legitimacy to the activities of the lower producers, the city people, on the basis of the social services that they provide. The pressmen who work in line sequence have their own methods of explaining differences in individual output. Moreover, the level of production of their neighbors seems to be less known to them. The fact that the take-home pay of the pressmen is roughly comparable to that of the skilled tailors is explained away by the fact that the press operators do heavy tiring work at hot machines which thus eliminates the pay differential to which the artisans might otherwise with justice lay claim.

Events Subsequent to the Field Study

As was reported, Clemente became union president when Jose Juarez resigned from the company. Clemente was more sober than Jose and worked hard at his new duties. Unfortunately the momentum created by his predecessor's militancy came to a head at a time when the national economy was experiencing a temporary but severe recession. An unfortunate and prolonged strike resulted.

In the prelude to the strike, Jairo took an important role. He attended meetings with management in Doctor Garcia's office, but would never accept a seat or the customary cup of coffee which traditionally launches such meetings. He would never speak to a manager except in the presence of another worker. When Doctor Garcia drove past him in the courtyard, he would turn away. "What have I done to this man to beget such treatment?" Doctor Garcia asked. "The people need union leadership which is 'clean' beyond any question," was Jairo's comment.

